/182 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of
seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal ancestress at their head, all loaded with
[482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them
loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a
heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Like-
[354] wise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left
hip a straddling boy whom he clasps tenderly, as though he had
hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light
[352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and
[252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger
one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca
with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[363] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal
chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are
fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center
there is an empty circle, and round about, /183/ radially, the
"individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by
[354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or
[251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge
[252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter), the beijús are
roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the
[323] vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest
[353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder,
offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly
[135] found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

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1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

126
823 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza. She pointed to the west, "Bakairi!"; to the south, "Bakairi!"; to the north and east likewise "Bakairi!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakairi!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124]
[532] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls. Judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Paihaga's, or rather Chief Caetano's house; it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

139 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted

252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The

[263] Bakairi are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609
431 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc

252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 [459] Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintiliano's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The [531] Bakairí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship; one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls [224] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness 136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the 122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 122 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5'.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.
7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

[illegible] We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

/463/

342 Tumayaua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the
262 room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me scantly and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of
[252] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on *beijú* as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip *beijú* in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakairí if in their childhood they had been obliged to
[252] take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of *mangabas*, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "*iwakulukulu*," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakairí. There was no
272 lack of mandioca flat-cakes or *beijús* and drinks. The festive drink, *pinerego*, however, lasted for only two days; greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-
262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The *beijús* were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked
533
126 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly

/65 cont./

128 831 [192] say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the unveiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakairí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same [536] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's ● [252] house, an old woman was baking beijús outside, pouring the flour [524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the [283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up pinetego and [289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the 126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must 291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

B /102 cont./

123 been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

W 122 B 461 We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the Mehinakú on 12 October at 11.00 in the forenoon. We had not hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds, a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

W 142 302

B 252

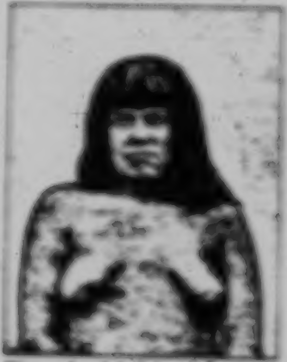


Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

W 131 On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The

B 584 harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied.

W 551 Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakaïrí shoved

B 581 the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and

B 576 beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck, on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was

B 759 rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

8 /200 cont./
155 ceased its raging at the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
497 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

8 If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
181 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
435 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical re-
8 quirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
231 warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually
232 not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously,
80 /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
433 among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
252 among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

8 Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakaïrí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world, he saw

/212 cont./

[171] [244] In the cultivation of mandioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need fear any comparison with other parts of the world. [252] [262] Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid mass and as a pappy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. [262] [412] It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible for having forced the natives, who received it from more advanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the inferior tools. [252] Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious tipyti, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice, our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

[171] [273] Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and mandioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of paiauará, popular among the North Karaiben, where the fresh beijús soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ [272] The pïserego of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either, one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

/215 cont./

*171 402 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." [113] This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, *Unter den Tropen* /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the *beijú*, [252] boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting *171 323 from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited [439] to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakairí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakairí [199] expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group * was the sole bearer of

---

* According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/217 cont./ [illegible]

of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small 252 fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting [323] racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Botokude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women!

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

/217 cont./

#171 174 ● 232 462 skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

174 462 Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture surpassing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being, just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots, the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

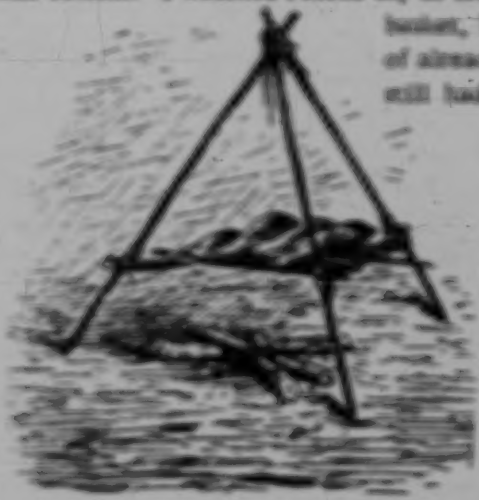
[433] [3/23] The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive: man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path: they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakairí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

/228 cont./

171 [illegible] The nets, namely small hand nets, were plaited out of the twisted, very resistant tucum palm fiber. They hung as a pouch from a piece of vine with both ends bent together in an oval.

171 [illegible] Two types of weir baskets were distinguished: the putachi of the Bakairí, wider, fuller with horizontal, rectangular interstices, and the other, tamachi, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical meshes. The catch-basket, kutu, was a plaited framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Paleko as, in order to make a catch-basket, he evened up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of shaft reed, a-b, and another, c-d, tied them together one under the other parallel at b and c., and now used the free piece from c-d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

171 [illegible]



[252]

Fig. 30. Roasting rack (trempe). (1/30 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

171 251 252 The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, the "trempe" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bast, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this angle

/237/

# 171 251 252 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side, the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

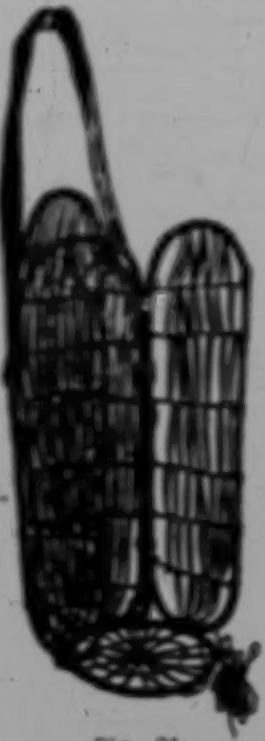


Fig. 31.
Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

# 171 285 [824] *Plaiting*. The material was furnished by the *bakayuva*, buriti, *akurí*, and *carandazinha* palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm *urumbamba* (Desmoncus), and the indispensable vines. [462] The men were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in [482] → which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally [531] familiar forms. Some variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetö had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets *mayáku*, a word which the

/237 cont./
*[171] Bakaïrí used for the very differently constructed carrying basket. [285] The accompanying illustration /see Fig. 31, p. 247/ shows [482] the three-walled carrying basket used by all tribes, the "mayāku" of the Bakaïrí, while the manner in which it is carried, hanging from the head with a bast loop, may be seen in the picture of Tumayaua, Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The contents were covered with leaves, which are also used to line the inside; then the side walls were bound together as tightly as possible. Small back-baskets were even hung on children.

The storage baskets for the mandioca flour should also be mentioned. While the lower tribes had clumsy supply baskets, resembling the back-baskets in form, those of the Bakaïrí (oâdu) were the product of careful work. Five or six thin poles as tall as a man were put together with a couple of cross-rings of vines to form a circular framework supported in some way, this was lined with Heliconia leaves, several of which were strung over one another with thread, spread out, and on the outside wound in horizontal circular turns with reddish pindahyba bast from bottom to top, with the bast knotted continuously from piece to piece. While this type of basket was therefore unplaited, there were others with an open, hexagonal /238/ mesh plaiting, which were likewise lined with leaves. The baskets were hung by strips of embira.

[372] The plaiting of mats did not play an important role. Small fan-shaped or square mats for fanning the fire were very pretty. [352] Larger mats for sleeping were lacking, since hammocks were [252] used. Mats were used in the preparation of flour, first of all drying mats plaited out of palm leaves, and then sieve-mats consisting of four-edged small reed rods knotted together with cross-threads for sifting and pressing out the roots grated on the grating boards studded with palm spines. Similar rod mats served as cases for storing feather ornaments. The feathers were placed in them as in a file folder, the mat was then held stiff by means of three clamps, one each on the top, on the bottom, and in the middle, made by bending split reed stalks together and, with the cut side lying against them, stretching them across transversally and tying the projecting ends together at the right.

v. Steinen--255 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Waura SP18
Mehinaku

B
*171
415 /241 cont./

best outward horizontally. These pots were not, as one would expect, the most common ones, but rather the rarest. I scarcely believe that there was one in each dwelling. Cooking did not play an important part, except for the preparation of flour, and for that the large kettles were required. On the other hand, a third type was found quite abundantly. These are the many-shaped warming and eating bowls 10-24 centimeters in diameter, which are represented by typical examples on the two plates, 23 and 24, "Ceramic Motifs" /see pp. 328 - 329/. A glance at the two plates teaches us the important fact that the basic form of these pots studded with edge projections is that of the roundish-oval vessel-fruit, whose /242/ curvature they have retained, although a flat bottom should be preferable for the pot. On the other hand, the curvature has made possible the plastic motif of the animal body. These clay bowls, as they are probably best called, were also by no means numerous in the houses. We saw the smallest number of them among the Auetö and Kamayurá. From the Trumaí we acquired only two small round pots, but this does not mean anything because they were in flight. We searched out every specimen because of their artistic value; we brought back some 80 in our collection, and if I now estimate that in the villages visited by us there might have been twice that many in all, I am sure the figure is too high. There are probably scarcely three small pots per household on the average. The gourd vessels still have precedence. There was, of course, every transition in size, as well as in use, to the small cooking pots. Eating was always done, however, out of the clay bowls, while the contents of the cooking pots were dished out. The clay bowls were preferred for children.

B [252] B [12] B [264]

W
323 Unfortunately, we did not observe how the kettle-pots were shaped. We saw only the extremely simple manner in which a Mehinakú woman in the Nahuquá village made a scarcely medium-sized pot. She brought out a basket filled with loam -- it interested me more than anything else in relation to the history of the origin of the pots -- added water to the clay, and pressed the superfluous water through a sieve. She shaped it, kneading and scraping it, and, in view of the smallness of the pot, did

/281 cont./

285 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. 532 A human-like figure, a doll with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto 825 dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the tujujú stork, it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body; only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in ● [259] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakaïrí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

524 /282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of 532 the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll, 261 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakaïrí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probbably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

/24 cont./

231 a table made of *vertigas* and provided regularly with meat, if
possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
● [252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory
were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many
women and children, especially, were well provided. European
(291) clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man
who came out of his house in Maigeri *aldea* to greet me had on
trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the
Rio Paranatinga *aldea* and which surely had never been washed
since. As a rule the *uluri* (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine
thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí *aldea*, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
oval base, while the second and third *aldeas* each consisted of
345 three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
(161) the number of houses in Bakairí *aldeas* at the time of my stay
among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not
hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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were then only two Bakairí *aldeas* on the Rio Kulisehu, the first,
Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

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30. Herrmann Meyer, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

/*36 cont.*/

285 184 [113] Cf. *Idem.*, "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." *Zeitsch. f. Ethn.*, 1904, *Heft* 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. *Idem.*, "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." *Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst*, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to 126 412 plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called *óro* by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in ● 252 417 Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí *si(r)ka* has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

535 126 I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and 10071) in

Plate XIV

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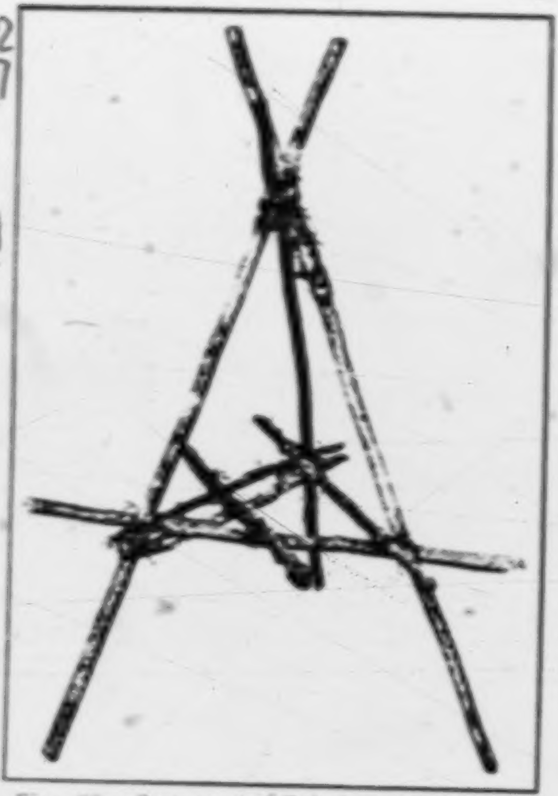

Fig. 30. Barbecue of Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

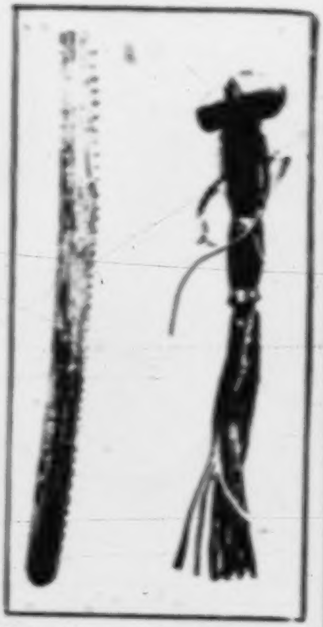

Fig. 31 a. Notched board for remembering numbers. b. Ball of an ear of maize. Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

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824

Fig. 32. Figures in the form of birds, made from maize husks. Bakairi-Xinguanos of the Rio Paranatinga.

352 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from
415 gourds.

484 As the Bacairi were extensive travelers and
226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of
501 their food supply, canoes were an important part
of their equipment. The Bacairi canoe (*pipi*)
396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The
[324] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-
half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on
the inside of the bark trough to make it curl.
Braces were placed at intervals along the entire
length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was
squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end.
501 Bacairi canoes varied in size, the larger ones being
able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá
bark are used by the Bacairi today and are the
[171] predominant type among the Indians of the
415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairi also made large
[324] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling
352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc
contains a fine powder or starch which settles on
the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the
241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairi
formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood.
411 For hunting, they used a bow (*tiko*), round or
324 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½
meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish
wood which was first matured by burying it in
mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of
imbauba bark. Arrows (*piriu*) were made from
[323] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting
arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for
shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no
412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairi consisted
of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and
489 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over
482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River,
[171] the Bacairi, in common with the other Upper
Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men
sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegia*)
around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in
front. Women, after puberty, wore the uluri.
302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their
hair long at the back but cut straight across over
[412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made
[323] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

[P.72-A]

241 beans, *ipid;* peanuts, *oremį;* sweetpotatoes, *mahádo;* "cará," *náni;* maize, *ánji;* potatoes, *múiá;* cotton, *kadokira;* urucú, *dunto;* tobacco, *tauerį;* piqui fruit, *ipa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes 248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and 276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*topdki*). [755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite. 252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were 272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help 241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and 462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain [285] extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various [286] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets. [323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí